15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
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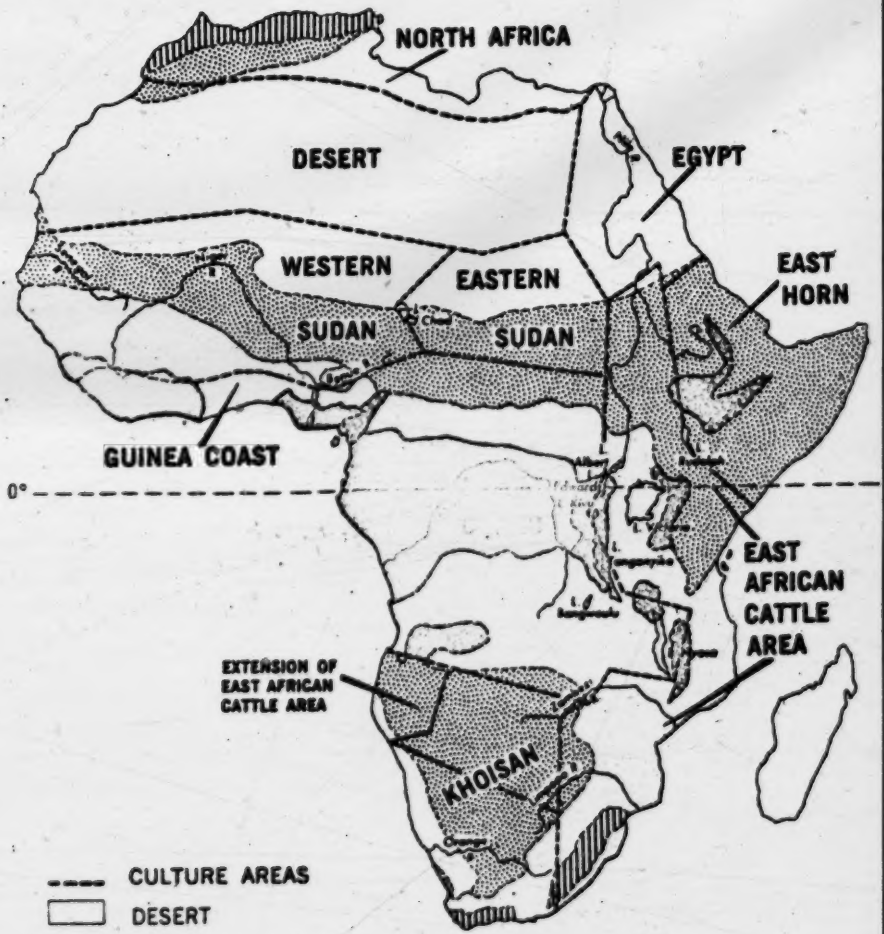
AFRICA: CULTURE AREAS AND VEGETATIONAL ZONES



[Front Map 1]
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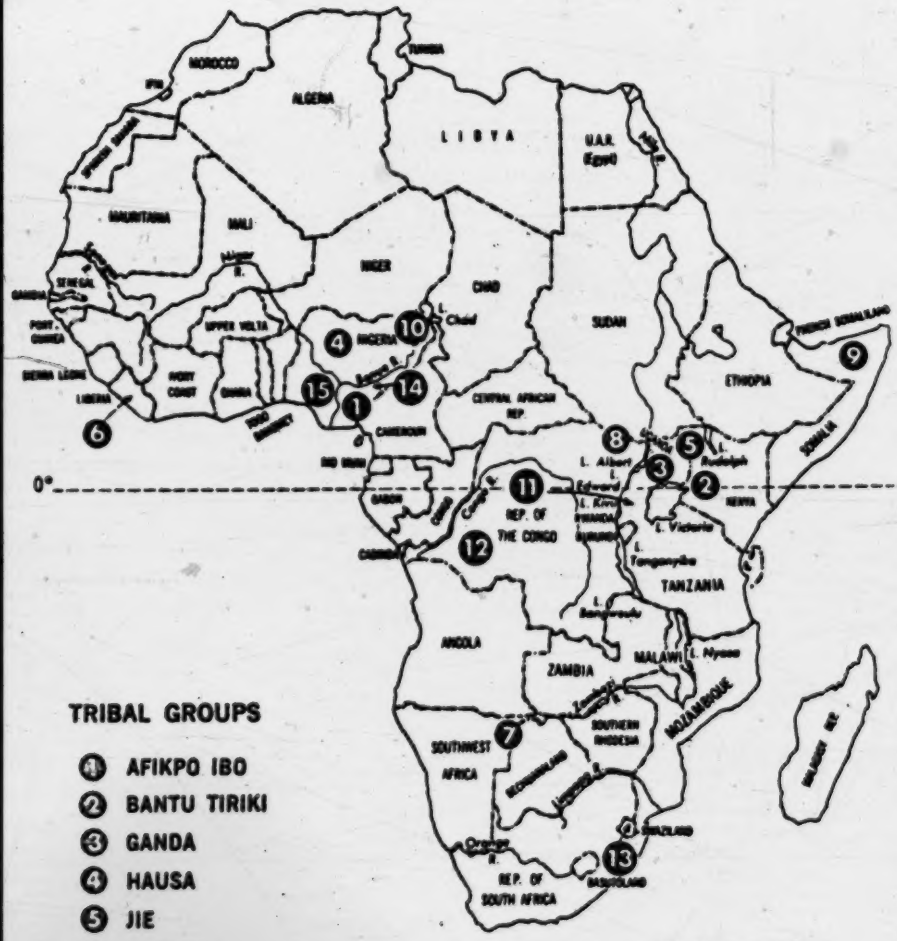
AFRICA: TRIBAL LOCATIONS AND POLITICAL BOUNDARIES, 1964



TRIBAL GROUPS

1. AFIKPO IBO
2. BANTU TIRIKI
3. GANDA
4. HAUSA
5. JIE
6. KPELLE
7. !KUNG BUSHMEN
8. MBUTI PYGMIES
9. NORTHERN PASTORAL SOMALI
10. PASTORAL FULANI
11. RWANDA
12. SUKU
13. SWAZI
14. TIV
15. YORUBA

[Front Map 2]
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for James and Hortense

WHO EVER ENCOURAGED THEIR ERRANT SON

IN HIS URGE TO BECOME

A SILVERER OF THE MIRROR FOR MAN

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THE !KUNG BUSHMEN OF THE KALAHARI DESERT

about the chapter

For the anthropologist, the Bushmen are one of the world's most intriguing peoples, as they are virtually unique physically, linguistically, and culturally. The physical anthropologist cannot place the Bushmen in any one of the recognized major racial groupings: Caucasoid, Mongoloid, or Negroid. Similarly, linguists have placed their language in a category, Khoisan, apart from other African language families. The velar "clicks" that characterize Khoisan languages are apparently found nowhere in the world outside of Africa.

The culture of the Bushmen shows the imprint of their harsh and barren desert habitat, and, as Marshall points out, the ethos of their culture is dominated by the quest for survival. Many Bushman cultural institutions are molded by certain ecological constants: water, the location of water holes, water-storing plants, and other edible wild plants, the movements of game. The size of the band, the daily cycle of labor, the low incidence of polygyny, are all aspects of culture marked in this way. Certain other Bushman institutions, however, are not simply cultural creations passively molded by habitat; rather, they give the Bushmen better than even odds to defy the limitations which their habitat imposes. Such culture patterns are their skillful hunting techniques, their institutionalized patterns of sharing, and their strong striving for cooperation and harmony. Few cultures give the observer such a rich opportunity to study the two-way interaction between habitat and culture.

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/21 Marshall shows how specific customs reflect the dominant quest for water, and she portrays the feeling of Bushman culture as well as providing an ethnologist's construct. In this configurational model focusing on ethos, she indicates how derived themes or postulates, such /71 as the stress on cooperation, relate to the most basic theme. Comparison of the !Kung Bushmen with the Mbuti Pygmies, the other foraging group represented in this book, reveals that even though these groups occupy very different habitats some features of their cultures are similar. These include not only elements of technology, for example, the use of poisoned arrows, but themes such as the stress on cooperation and the minimizing of intragroup conflicts, features that are a functional requisite for the close, face-to-face relationships in a foraging /21 band. Thus a study of the Bushmen offers insight into what may be minimal and hence universal features of the foraging band as a culture type.

Bushman culture is also of interest to those concerned with African culture history, for archaeological remains of societies with a similar material culture have been discovered scattered over a much wider region of the eastern part of the continent than the Bushmen now occupy. Many anthropologists feel that the bearers of these early cultures were Bushmen, or Bushmanlike in racial type. An understanding of Bushman culture gives us insight into the cultural and behavioral setting to which the mute artifacts may have belonged.

about the author

/14 Lorna Marshall lives in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and, with mem- [10] bers of her family, has conducted several expeditions to the Bushmen of the Nyae Nyae region of South West Africa (1951, 1952–1953, 1955, 1959, 1961), of Bechuanaland Protectorate (1955, 1961), and of southeast Angola (1959). She received her M.A. from Radcliffe College in 1928. Her writings include "The Kin Terminology System of the !Kung Bushmen" (1957), "N!ow" (1957), "Marriage among the !Kung Bushmen" (1959), "!Kung Bushman Bands" (1960), "Sharing, Talking and Giving: Relief of Social Tensions among !Kung Bushmen" (1961), and "!Kung Bushman Religious Beliefs" (1962).

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LORNA MARSHALL · *The !Kung Bushmen of the Kalahari Desert*[1]

INTRODUCTION

LOCATION · The Bushmen live in those parts of the Kalahari Desert in southern Africa that lie in the British Bechuanaland Protectorate, in South West Africa, and in southeastern Angola. A few additional remnants of Bushman groups still exist in Northern Rhodesia and at Lake Chrissie in South Africa. In the past Bushmen had a much wider distribution.[2]

Many Bushmen live among, and some work for, the Bantu-speaking tribes in settlements where sufficient water resources have been developed to support cattle, and some Bushmen work for white farmers in the Ghanzi area of the Bechuanaland Protectorate and in South West Africa. However, many still live in small, independent, nomadic groups, widely dispersed in the vast areas of the desert.

It is very difficult to arrive at a precise population count of the Bushmen, but a recent estimate gathered from various contemporary sources (Tobias 1956) indicates that in 1955 there were 55,531 Bushmen.[3] These figures are higher than any previously propounded (cf. Schapera 1939) and come as a surprise to many.

The Bushmen are linked with the Hottentots, a southern African people who resemble them physically and with whom they have linguistic affiliations, but who are a pastoral people with a more complex social structure. Bushmen and Hottentots together are called the *Khoisan* peoples, a coined term combining the Hottentots' term for themselves (*Khoi*) and their name for the Bushmen (*San*). The Khoisan peoples have been referred to as a distinct race (Murdock 1959: 8) or, as Howells puts it, "a major racial variety of man" (1959:306). The obscurity of their origins and racial affinities are in themselves subjects in which research continues and interesting postulations engage the attention of scientists in various fields.[4]

PHYSICAL FEATURES · The physical features of the Bushmen have drawn much attention from anthropologists. Bushmen are of small stature (adult males average approximately five feet, two inches) with YELLOWISH BROWN SKIN THAT BECOMES HEAVILY WRINKLED IN OLD AGE.

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A Headman ~~g~~Toma is the leader of the main Guatscha band.

142 males average approximately five feet, two inches) with yellowish brown skin that becomes heavily wrinkled in old age. They have very little facial and body hair, and their short, black, head hair is so curly it spirals into peppercorn tufts. The Bushman face is flat and triangular; the brown eyes are set rather wide apart. A variety of eye folds narrow the apertures of the eyes. The nose is extremely broad with a very low bridge, the lips are everted but not protruding or only slightly so, and the ear is somewhat square in shape with a deeply rolled rim (helix). The Bushman body and limbs are slender; the frame is delicate. A notable feature is the inward curve of the small of the back. The penis is semierect. In women there is what is called the "Hottentot apron" (elongation of the *labia minora*). Steatopygia (fat on the buttocks) is invariably mentioned in the literature as one of the important physical characteristics of Bushman and Hottentot women and recorded as being very prominently developed in some. By comparison with the extreme examples that are seen among some Hottentot women and in illustrations, the northern and central Bushman women whom we observed did not have marked steatopygia, although some had buttocks that could be called plump.

197 LANGUAGE • Bushman languages and those of the Hottentots are classified as a language family known as Click or Khoisan (Greenberg 1955:80).
[194] Clicks are so unusual as to be almost unique to Bushman and Hottentot (they occur also in two East African languages—Sandawe and Hatsa—according to Greenberg) and are so distinguishing a feature of these languages that much attention is given them.

194 The Khoisan clicks, striking implosive sounds, are velaric suction stops
197 (Heffner 1960:119; cf. Beach 1938:73 ff.). The northern and central Bushman languages have four, made with the tongue, as follows: the dental (/), lateral (//), alveolar (!), and palatal (~~g~~). The southern Bushman lan-

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guages, some now virtually extinct, were characterized by a fifth click made with the lips, called the kiss click (⊙). In addition to clicks, the Bushman languages have tones: high, middle, low, rising, and falling. Oswin Köhler has given special attention to tone as well as to other features in his study of Bushman languages, especially Barakwenga (Köhler 1962).

Each of the large divisions of the Bushman languages—the northern, central, and southern divisions (see Bleek 1956)—differs markedly from the others. Within each group are several languages, sometimes resembling each other enough to be considered merely dialects of the same language, but more often differing so widely as to be distinct, mutually quite unintelligible languages. The !Kung described in this chapter (Köhler's and Westphal's !Xũ) belong to the northern group.

HABITAT • The Kalahari Desert, some 1200 miles long, with a mean high altitude of about 3000 feet, forms part of the great plateau of southern Africa. It is a basin in form, covered with wind-blown sands, sometimes red, sometimes white, to a depth of 300 to 400 feet. The underlying rock crops out rarely in ridges and a few low hills.

Stamp (1953:78) classifies the Kalahari as a semidesert. Its conditions are not the most extreme. Our expeditions recorded daytime air temperatures in the shade up to 115° F. and sand temperatures in the sun up to 140° F. In winter the temperature at night falls below freezing but for most of the year the nights are temperate. Although they seem acclimated to the heat, the Bushmen appear to find the colder temperatures very uncomfortable and shiver violently if they are away from their fires when the cold south winds blow.[8]

The rainfall, which comes in summer thunderstorms—6 to 10 inches, increasing in the better-watered parts toward the north, according to Wellington (1955:61)—though slight, is sufficient to sustain a varied drought-resistant vegetation, and the country is covered with grass, brush, and scant small trees. In the northern and northwestern parts, the trees are more numerous and taller and include shivi groves and nut-bearing mangetti—important sources of food to the Bushmen. And in all the areas of the desert that Bushmen inhabit are found edible plants, in scant, far-apart patches perhaps, but existing. The vegetation, furthermore, provides material for fires, shelter, weapons, implements, tanning, poison for arrows, and juices (for example tsama melons, on which these people can live when there is no water). In short, this desert provides the things that make life possible; otherwise the Bushmen would be dead or somewhere else.

The desert is a forceful shaper of the outlines of Bushman culture, and both the possibilities it permits and the limitations it imposes have been meaningfully summarized by Robert Story in a personal communication:

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A lack of permanent water is probably the most trying of the difficulties which beset the Bushmen of the present day in the country which shelters them. However, it is this very disadvantage which has ensured their survival, for while they have been dispossessed of their country and exterminated in the less arid parts, in the "Great Thirst Land of the Kalahari" they have been comparatively safe from their European and Bantu enemies. The austerity and hardships of the Kalahari are offset to some extent by its deep level mantle of sand, which prevents run-off of the rainwater and makes it readily available for plant growth. "Clay, for example, is as dry as dust to the plant when it contains 18% of water, while most sands are very nearly saturated with 18% of water" (Schantz 1911). This means not only that the sandy soil can support more luxuriant plants in greater variety, but also that storage organs are common among them, for drainage in sand is so rapid and thorough that shallow-rooted plants at least are in a stronger position if they are able to collect and store the water before it sinks into the deeper layers.

Although some of the storage organs are poisonous, the Bushmen still have numerous edible bulbs, tubers and roots at their disposal. Thanks again to the sand, they can harvest these quickly and easily with wooden digging-sticks which would be inadequate in a heavy or stony soil. Other storage organs which they do not eat because of bitterness or high tannin or fibre content are nevertheless important indirectly through being eaten by the various antelopes that are the Bushmen's meat supply.

Hunting is easier as well, for as there could be few better tracking surfaces than the Kalahari sand and, as a wounded animal can thus be followed with very little risk of loss, hard-hitting weapons and careful aim are not necessary. Instead, the Bushmen use small poisoned arrows which have the advantage of being effective on any part of the body and of bringing death as certainly to big game as to small.

LINGUISTIC AND BAND GROUPINGS • The major groupings among the Bushmen cannot correctly be called tribes; they are, rather, linguistic groupings and the names by which they have been traditionally known by Europeans refer to language: for example, !Kung-speaking Bushmen, Naron-speaking Bushmen. The Bushmen themselves and their Bantu neighbors use a multitude of names by which they refer to various combinations of local groupings. Our own tentative and incomplete comparisons lead us to say that the language groups differ from one another markedly in some customs while they are much the same in others.

The language groups have no political unity among or within themselves. The only social unit larger than the family is the autonomous band composed of several families and headed by a headman (see "Political Organization," p. 267). Each of the major groupings has many bands within it.

The Bushmen whose social structure I describe in this chapter are a group of !Kung-speakers who call themselves *ju /õassi* and who live in the Nyae Nyae region of South West Africa. It is a region of about 10,000

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square miles, centered approximately at Gautscha (about 19°48'30" S, 20°34'36" E). The region lies for the most part in South West Africa, but extends into the Bechuanaland Protectorate to a number of Tswana and Herero settlements along the border. We arbitrarily call this particular stretch of country a region because it is a region in the minds of the Bushmen. In it are some 27 bands living independently in their own traditional way and 9 groups employed by the Tswana and Herero—a !Kung population of about 1000. These !Kung intermarry. They have not formally structured the region as an endogamous unit, but they remain within it by custom and preference. They know there are other !Kung-speakers living to the north and northwest of them, but consider them strangers, as they do the Auen-speaking and Naron-speaking Bushmen to the south.

ECONOMY

It is vividly apparent that among the !Kung Bushmen, ethos, or "the spirit which actuates manners and customs," is survival. Their time and energies are almost wholly given to this task, for life in their environment requires that they spend their days mainly in procuring food. The band organization is important to their survival, and, to secure the mutual support and companionship that it affords, they seek to regulate their social actions to reduce tension and potential hostility among the individuals within the band. They also strive to avoid the possibility of conflict between bands. Similarly, in their religious concepts and practices, the emphasis is on survival in this life on earth, not a looking forward to the eternal life in the sky after death.

WILD PLANT FOODS (*veldkos*) • The !Kung of the Nyae Nyae region have no agriculture. They subsist mainly on wild plant foods, which we refer to by the convenient Afrikaans word *veldkos*. The game the hunters of a band manage to kill is an important part of their diet and much desired, but it is by no means the daily sustenance. In this region the !Kung know more than a hundred different kinds of veldkos (cf. Story 1958). Several species of berries exist, dry and hard for the most part. A few fruits ripen suddenly in a short season. Leaves, resembling spinach, make a spring salad for a short time. Morsels of gums from certain trees are cherished like sweets. Tsama melons and wild cucumbers grow here but do not abound in this region as they do in some other parts of the Kalahari where some Bushman groups can live on them for certain seasons without having access to any water. Most important to the daily sustenance of the Nyae Nyae !Kung are the edible underground roots, tubers, and storage organs of certain drought-resistant plants. We observed the gathering of 23 different kinds of these; doubtless there are more. In addition to the roots and tubers, there are sev-

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Gathering Mangetti Nuts

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eral large groves of mangetti trees (*Ricinodendron rautanenii* Schinz) in the region, all on great waterless white sand dunes, and one extensive area in which *tsī* grows. *Tsī* (*Bauhinia esculenta* Burch) is the seed of the vine that runs along on the surface of the ground. Both mangetti nuts and *tsī* are excellent foods, rich in oils and proteins, and so important to the !Kung that they organize their lives to a considerable extent around them.

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Each band, according to !Kung social structure, owns and lives within what we call a territory. The band, through its headman (in a way to be explained later), owns the veldkos and water resources within its territory. The territories are varied in size and shape and sometimes consist of portions that are not even contiguous. The boundaries are vague, for the need to draw fine boundary lines is not great. In the interior of the region, where water is so scant, in roughly 8000 square miles live only 17 bands, comprising 447 persons. The other bands and employed groups live on what we call the periphery of the region. The !Kung say that one cannot eat the ground itself so it does not matter to whom it belongs. It is the patches of veldkos that are clearly and jealously owned, and the territories are shaped in a general way around these patches. The !Kung of the interior have settled themselves in such a way that every band has access to areas of edible roots and to either a mangetti grove or a *tsī* patch. A few bands have both.

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The strong concepts of ownership of veldkos by the band operate almost like a taboo. No external force is established to prevent one band from encroaching on another's veldkos or to prevent individuals from raiding veldkos patches to which they have no right. This is just not done. Fear of fighting is one of the deterrents. The poisoned arrows of the Bushmen are as deadly

[p. 248]

The poisoned arrows of the Bushmen are as deadly to man as to game and they are always at hand. A mere nick and a speck of poison in the bloodstream can be fatal. There are no known antidotes.

As skilled trackers of game, Bushmen develop their powers of visual observation and train their visual memories to such a high degree that they know everyone's footprint as well as his face. This is another deterrent, for no one could steal veldkos without leaving his marks and having his identity detected. Theoretically, in !Kung society the thief may rightfully be killed by the person or the band from whom he has stolen, but he may fight back, and relatives could also become involved and the fighting would spread. In the opinion of the !Kung, situations likely to engender hostility are assiduously to be avoided, to say nothing of actual fighting. Breaches of this intention are very rare.

Life throughout the seasons is planned around the veldkos gathering. The people know at what seasons the various veldkos will ripen and about how much each patch will yield if the rains have been good or if they have been poor. The !Kung are not, according to our way of thinking, exactly conservation-minded, but they do plan to consume their veldkos in advantageous order. They eat the perishable short-seasoned leaves and the few fruits as soon as they ripen. They leave until the dry season is advanced certain beds of roots and tubers that are edible the year around if they remain in the ground.

The headman of the band has the authority and the duty, according to !Kung social regulations, to plan the band's movements, to say to which veldkos area they will go and when, and, if the band separates temporarily into segments, to know where each segment is going and, in general, what veldkos it will consume. It is a matter of life and death to plan and control as best they can and not to travel for days, counting on food and finding that one segment of the band has eaten it all, unbeknown to the others.

Each type of veldkos and each area presents its problems of logistics, water being the determining factor in the plans, for usually water and veldkos are not in the same place. During the big rains and for several weeks after, the pans and vleys become shallow ponds and small, temporary water holes are filled. It is the time of relative plenty. The people find sufficient water to enable them to move about with comparative freedom in their country, wherever there is something to gather. When the dry season sets in, the problem is to carry enough water from the water hole to the veldkos area in ostrich egg shell containers and to carry enough veldkos back to the water hole. It is a ceaseless labor.

The distances the !Kung travel between water and fertile areas in these gathering trips vary from a few miles to twenty or thirty. The people do not manage greater distances except in the rainy season, when they go as far as seventy-five miles to a mangetti forest.

When the people go to gather mangettis or *tsi*, the men always ac-

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On the Move A Bushman hangs his possessions on a carrying stick and thrusts his assegai under the stick in back to distribute the weight onto both shoulders.

222 When the people go to gather mangettis or tsi, the men always ac-
462 company the women and help to gather and to carry the heavy loads—as much as they possibly can—back to the water hole.

Though the men help, especially with *tsi* and mangettis, gathering and digging are the work of women and the work that takes up the greater por-
222 tion of their energy and time throughout their lives. Their digging imple-
[412] ment is a sharpened, unweighted stick about three feet long. When we were
[101] living with the Gautscha bands at the Gautscha water hole in the dry season, the women went to gather every day or every second or third day, depending on the distance and on how much food they could carry back. They would plan which patch or fertile area to go to and start out in small groups, some
[484] to one place, some to another. They would walk five or ten or fifteen miles
[361] to their destination and then pick berries or dig roots, which may lie two feet or more under the ground, until the mid-afternoon, and then start back
[854] to the werf (campsite) at the water hole. They carry their infants tied to
[482] them, small children on their shoulders, and the loads of veldkos in the
[372] bulges of their karosses (skin capes). When they near the werf, they pick up two or three logs for the night fires.

The veldkos that each woman gathers belongs to her and with it she feeds her own family, sharing with whatever relative or friend she wishes. Custom does not require her to share it in a systematic way with others as
252 meat must be shared. She cooks her veldkos in the coals and hot ashes,
264 pounds fibrous roots and hard berries in her mortar, and serves the food to her family as a family meal, usually in the evening. During the day, however, people may cook and eat little snacks at odd times.

222 Although there are numerous kinds of veldkos, we must not give the
433 impression that there is a great abundance. In fact, the opposite is true. Food
731 is scarce all over the arid Kalahari, where drought is the scourge on all—the cattle raisers, the dry farmers, and the gatherers of the wild foods.

628 There has been much intermarriage in the Nyae Nyae region. Families
166 therefore may have close relatives—with whom they have the right to live—
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in several different bands, and they may choose among them. A band that owned comparatively good resources would tend to attract more members than a band with scant veldkos. This flexibility of residence pattern is one of the reasons that one finds the bands of the interior of the Nyae Nyae region relatively in balance with their resources, and varying in size.

WATER • Two or more bands may share the ownership of a water hole. Water holes keep their own rough population balance because, if water is very scarce, people will go to live elsewhere when they have the possibility of doing so.

In the interior of this region, in roughly 8000 square miles, there are three water holes that can be called really permanent. In the driest years these do not fail. Four others dry up only in years of severe drought. Six more are semipermanent: in a very good year they may yield a little water right through, but in a dry year they are sure to dry up. When the semipermanent water holes go dry, the bands who own them may break up temporarily and the families may go to live with relatives who are at permanent water holes, or they may go as whole bands to another water hole where they have relatives.

Water is not owned as exclusively or as jealously as veldkos. Water seems to belong more to mankind, as the animals do, and the ownership of water holes emphasizes more the managing than the withholding of the water. The headman controls the water. His permission should be asked by travelers or visitors before taking water, "because he knows what he has and what can be done," we were told. We saw small temporary water holes marked with bundles of grass thrust into forked sticks. This was to tell visitors or travelers that the owners of the water hole were in residence, as it were, and were counting on the water. We believe that in these circumstances water would not be taken without permission. Occasions are not likely to arise where permission need be refused. The !Kung know where the others are, or are likely to be, at a given time and know how much water is available. They plan better than to get themselves into desperate situations.

One source of water appears to be owned by individuals. It is the rainwater that collects in hollow mangetti trees. The water in trees is not stolen by others who go to gather in the same mangetti forest. Water, incidentally, is the only beverage of the !Kung in the interior of the region. They have no alcoholic drinks and use no infusions of herbs.

HUNTING AND MEAT SHARING • !Kung hunting regulations do not confine the hunters to territories. The game animals belong to no one until they are shot, and the hunters may follow them anywhere the spoor leads and may cross the territorial boundaries of any band. If hunters have made a kill in the territory of a neighboring band, they would not fail to give a present of

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meat to the owners of the territory should they happen to encounter them, but this is a gift, not an obligatory tribute. The vastness and emptiness of the country allow this freedom in hunting rights and the wandering nature of the game requires that the hunters, if they are to succeed at all, be free to look for game wherever they can find it.

The !Kung eagerly pick up tortoises, certain kinds of lizards, snakes, ostrich eggs, and grasshoppers, and they relish termites when these insects swarm out in nuptial flight. These items provide incidental delicacies and gathering them is like the gathering of veldkos. The person who gathers them may keep them for himself and his own family. Men gladly shoot small animals and birds if they happen upon them—wart hogs, duikers, other small antelope, porcupines, badgers, pythons, spring hares, ostriches, paouws, guinea fowl, red-winged partridges, occasional migrating geese, and other birds. They may keep them for their own families. They do not, however, devote their hunting time to the smaller animal creatures if they find fresh spoor of the larger ones. Hunting the big game animals that feed a whole band is the work of a man's prime and is incumbent on him.

Hunting parties usually consist of from two to four or five men. A man cannot hunt effectively alone in this country. Several parties hunting in different directions are more advantageous than one larger party. Any man may organize a hunting party, with relatives and friends from his own band or from neighboring bands—men he likes to hunt with. No one is formally a leader; the men talk and plan together and are likely to fall in with the suggestions of the one whom they consider the best hunter. Participation in any given hunting party is voluntary. What !Kung society urges is that the hunters hunt; it does not restrict the ways and means. The force of public opinion upon men not to sit in the werf, not to be lazy but to do their share, is tremendous.

The game the !Kung hunt deliberately and purposefully are the several big antelopes found in the region: eland, kudu, gemsbok, wildebeest, hartebeest, springbok. They also hunt the more rarely seen buffalo and occasionally manage to shoot a giraffe. Although there is this considerable variety of kind, there is not a great abundance of game. The herds are small and the hunts long and hard.[6] The antelope, because they can go for long periods without drinking, move and drift about anywhere in the vast monotonous veld and are very difficult to find. Hunters often search for days, covering scores of miles, before finding spoor fresh enough to follow, and they may follow it for days before catching up with the animal. Their little arrows kill by poison rather than by piercing deeply, and, when an animal is shot, if it is big, it may wander for three or four more days until it dies of the poison. Smaller animals succumb in a shorter time. The hunters must track the animal and find it before the lions, leopards, hyenas, jackals, or vultures de-

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vour it. Thus, according to our observations, a !Kung band gets on an average 224
only about fifteen to eighteen large animals in a usual year.

The meat of the large game animals does not belong to the hunters to do with as they choose. However, they always have the prerogative of eating the [242]
liver at the site of the kill and, if their hunger is not satisfied, they may eat more. The bulk of the meat is then carried to the band, where it is distributed among the members according to a system. The meat belongs to the owner of the first arrow that penetrates the animal so that it stays in. He has the responsibility of making the first distribution.

Anyone in the band may be the owner of the arrow. A hunter carries 224
arrows he acquires in three different ways. Each man has his own that he 411
makes himself, shaping the points with some little distinction so that he 422
will know them from the arrows of other men. In addition he carries 426
arrows that have been given or lent to him. When an arrow is given to him, 431
he is the owner as much as if he had made it himself, but if he uses that 571
arrow he must make a special gift of meat to the donor. When he uses an arrow that is loaned to him, he merely shoots for the person who lent it and who remains the owner of the arrow. !Kung society makes a great deal of giving and lending arrows. Women and old men, as well as men in their hunting prime, receive arrows as gifts and may give them or lend them to a hunter, asking him to shoot for them. A hunter cannot refuse an arrow— [576]
as a person cannot refuse any gift—without offending the giver. He accepts the arrow and with it an obligation, but he gives or lends arrows in return and involves others in obligation to him. Hunters choose to use one or another of their arrows, with the result that the responsibility of distributing the meat, with its advantages and obligations, is shared by members of the band as is the meat itself.

In the first distribution the whole animal is divided among a few 224
persons, who receive whole sections on the bone, unless the animal is so large that the meat has to be cut off in strips to be carried. The first of these persons are the hunters, each of whom gets a fore- or hindquarter or the equivalent. The giver of the arrow (if the arrow was not made by the owner himself) receives a generous portion. The owner of the arrow, who may be one of the hunters, or anybody, keeps the rest.

In the second distribution, the several persons who got meat in the 224
first distribution cut up their shares and distribute them further. The 602
amounts depend on the number of persons involved, but should be as much as the giver can manage. In the second distribution, close kinship is the factor that sets the pattern of giving. A man's first obligation at this point [606]
is to his wife's parents. He must give to them the best he has in as generous [593]
portions as he can while still fulfilling other primary obligations, which are to his own parents, his spouse, and offspring. He keeps a portion for himself at this time and from it would give to his siblings, to his wife's siblings, if

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224 they are present, and to other kin, affines, and friends who are there, possibly
602 only in small quantities by then.

Everyone who receives meat gives again, in another wave of sharing, to his or her parents, parents-in-law, spouses, offspring, siblings, and others.
[574] This meat may be cooked and the quantities small. Visitors receive small amounts of cooked meat from their hosts. It ends in everybody getting some meat.

224 In the later waves of sharing, when the primary distribution and pri-
431 mary kinship obligations have been fulfilled, the giving of meat from one's own portion has the quality of gift giving. !Kung society requires at this point only that a person should give with reasonable generosity in proportion to what he has received and not keep more than an equitable amount for himself, and that the person who receives a gift of meat must give a reciprocal gift of meat at some time in the future. People give to whom they please, this time to some, next time to others, more generously or less generously
[571] according to their own (to us often unfathomable) reasons. We are certain, however, that the motives are the same as in gift giving in general: the person gives to measure up to what is expected of him, to make friendly gestures, to win favor, to repay past favors and obligations, and to enmesh others in future obligation.

224 Aside from the practical advantage of using up meat while it is still
431 fresh, the !Kung custom of meat sharing has enormous social value. It does
181 a great deal to mitigate tensions. The fear of hunger is lessened. People are
[154] sustained by a web of mutual obligation. Moreover, they are fully conscious
[183] of these values, and the custom is so strongly established and so faithfully followed that the idea of not sharing is virtually unthinkable to the !Kung.

422 Meat is not habitually cooked and eaten as a family meal among the
262 !Kung. When an individual receives a portion he owns it outright. He may
264 give and share it further, as he wishes, but it never becomes family or group property. The men, women, and children may cook their pieces when and as they wish, often roasting bits in the coals and hot ashes and eating them alone at odd times. Or someone may start a big pot boiling and several people will bring their pieces to put into it at the same time, each taking his own piece out when it is cooked.

The sense of possessing one's own piece personally is, I believe, very
[261] important to the !Kung. It gives one the responsibility of choosing when to eat one's meat and struggling with hunger as best one can when it is finished, without occasion or excuse for blaming others for eating more than their share.

224 It has often been reported that, when Bushmen kill an animal, they
261 gorge themselves until they can hardly walk. We have seen the Nyae Nyae !Kung eat hearty meals of meat when plenty appeared and they had been long without, but nothing more than we considered a normal amount.

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They hang meat in the bushes to dry and can keep it for some time. It is not uncommon for them to eat quite sparingly and save bits for a coming journey or against a future day of hunger, as they eat sparingly of mangetti nuts and *tsi* when they must make a supply they have carried from a great distance last as long as possible.

The !Kung are well accustomed to restraining themselves in regard to food. Thus when a visitor comes to a fire where people are preparing food or eating, he should sit at a discreet distance, not to seem importunate, and wait to be asked to share.

Although the hunters supply only about a fifth of the people's food and the women four fifths, the women play a dependent role in !Kung society. Nevertheless, the men do not ill-treat the women and require no extreme form of obedience or subservience of them.

The primary factor in the dominance of the men is undoubtedly strength. !Kung men are small and slender, but they are wiry and vigorous and, with their strength, they carry and protect the very life of their people.

Another factor that brings men clearly forward is the character of hunting and its reward. Women bring the daily food, but there is nothing splendid about returning with vegetables and wood. Many of the vegetable foods, furthermore, are rather tasteless and harsh and are not very satisfying. The return of the hunters is vastly different. The intense craving for meat, the anxiety that goes with the hunt, the deep excitement of the kill, finally the eating and the satisfaction reach to the very core of the people, engaging powerful emotions. Once a young man, /Qui, who was said to be the best hunter in the region, had been charged by a magnificent cock ostrich on a big open pan where there was no refuge. He knelt, facing the creature, until it was within close range and shot an arrow straight into its heart. Back in the werf, while the meat was being cut up and distributed by /Qui's wife's brothers, he slept exhausted on the mound of black and white plumes and the women—some of the plumes in their hair—danced a dance of praise around him. This is the role of !Kung hunters.

MATERIAL CULTURE

HOUSE TYPE AND SETTLEMENT PATTERN • The building of the scherm—the Bushman reed-and-grass dwelling—is women's work, associated with vegetation and gathering. Each woman builds for her own family. However, unless no better shade can be found or unless it is raining, the women often do not bother to build these shelters. Especially after the long days of walking, it is easier just to settle in the bushes.

In the Nyae Nyae region, wood and grass are everywhere, and a woman can gather her material and build her scherm in less than an hour. She breaks up flexible branches about six feet long, digs holes with her

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A Bridal Scherm The groom, to the right, and the bride, to the left, are with companions. This scherm is a particularly well-built specimen of the Bushman house.

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digging stick in a crescent curve, and tamps the branches into them. She weaves the branches together at the top and perhaps ties a few with fiber cord. This makes a frame half a hemisphere in shape, four to five feet wide on its open side, three to four feet deep, and perhaps five feet high at the peak. The woman then lays armloads of grass against the branches.

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The fire, not the scherm, is the visible symbol of home for a !Kung family. Summer and winter, each nuclear family has its own fire. The families cover their coals with ash during the day and fan them up for cooking. Toward evening, men and women go to the veld to gather wood and bring back whole dead trees, enough to keep their fires burning brightly all night.

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The werf is the group of fires of all the families in the band. A !Kung werf has no fixed pattern of orientation except to cluster closely together. With all space around them, the band with whom we lived—Band I of Gautscha, consisting of thirty-two persons with eight family fires—usually huddled into a place roughly forty to fifty feet by about twenty. The light and warmth of their fires together wall them in from infinity and darkness and protect them from predators.

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The !Kung never return to a werf they have once abandoned. They come season after season all during their lives to the same water holes and veldkos areas, but always choose a fresh spot to make a new settlement.

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ARTIFACTS • The artifacts of the !Kung are simple and few but well made and well cared for. These people use stone only for sharpening metal blades,

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for stretching carrying nets, and for pounding things. Informants said they had never seen or heard of stone arrow points or blades. They still use bone and wood points occasionally but have for the most part changed over to metal for knives, axes, assegai blades, and drills, as well as for arrow points.

From wood the men make bows and quivers as well as sticks for making fire, digging, carrying, and stirring; handles for knives, axes, and assegais; bowls, spoons, mortars, and pestles; and musical instruments—the five-stringed *//guashi* and a one-stringed violin. Reed and bone are available in plenty for arrow shafts. There are abundant fiber and sinew for the excellent cordage that men and women make. Little tortoise shells are dippers and cosmetic boxes. Hides, although not abundant, are sufficient—in the Nyae Nyae region at least—for everyone to have a kaross, for the men to have breechclouts, and for the women to have modesty aprons and skins to wear around the buttocks. All have sewn skin bags. These objects of hide are made by men because they are products of the hunt. Frequently there are surplus hides for trade.

Ostrich egg shells are used for water containers, and women make ostrich egg shell beads. This is the one important craft of the women and the one for which Bushmen are noted among the surrounding peoples. Good ostrich egg shell bead ornaments are the most prized possessions of the !Kung. The women also make ornaments of European beads and of grass and thongs and *tsi* nuts. They very much enjoy ornamenting themselves.

The !Kung decorate their artifacts occasionally with rather meager scratched designs but have not developed graphic, pictorial, or sculptural arts to any appreciable extent.

The !Kung trade with their Tswana and Herero neighbors, offering well-tanned hides, ostrich egg shell beads, and a red powder they make from the dead heartwood of a certain tree. Usually what they want most of all in exchange is tobacco—for they are passionately addicted smokers—and malleable metal from which they shape their arrow points and assegai blades. They also want knives, axes, European beads, and either the round-bottomed Ovambo pots or European iron pots. Once in a while they get an old chisel or file, a basin or cup, or a few miserable scraps of cloth garments. The little Bushmen find the bigger, more aggressive Bantu hard bargainers and are rather at their mercy.

The significant thing about !Kung artifacts from a social point of view is that they are not accumulated as wealth and their possession does not symbolize high status or bestow prestige. It is not advantageous to multiply and accumulate in this society. Any man can make what he needs when he wants to. Most of the materials he uses are abundant and free for anyone to take. Furthermore, in their nomadic lives, without beasts of burden, the fact that the people themselves must carry everything puts a sharp limit

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on the quantity of objects they want to possess. They do not even want one each of the common tools of their lives. They borrow from each other, and there is less to carry.

Instead of acquiring prestige by accumulating possessions, the !Kung seek it in the opposite way. They practice a custom of gift giving to such an extent that their belongings all move in a slow flowing current among them and no one keeps anything of particular value very long. !Kung society requires that gifts be made in return, and the custom serves as a means to mitigate jealousy, to express friendly intent, and to weave people together in mutual obligation.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

THE FAMILY AND THE DOMESTIC GROUP • The family is the primary and the most cohesive social unit of the !Kung. By far the strongest bonds they feel are those of the nuclear family—the bonds between parent and offspring, between siblings, between spouses. These relationships are the basis of residence; by that I mean that people live together and have membership in their bands and rights to its food and water resources because they are linked to the band by one of these relationships. I believe that, in addition to the structured aspects, there is great emotional cohesiveness in !Kung families and that this is observable in the way families within the band build their fires near each other, come and go together, or, if there should be a quarrel, literally stand by each other, drawing close together.

The !Kung family passes through four phases. In its simplest nuclear form it consists of a man, his wife, and such children as are born to them. First marriages are always with just one wife. A later nuclear phase may be polygynous. When the daughters of a !Kung couple marry, and the daughters' husbands come to live with their brides' parents to give them bride service, the unit becomes an extended family. In a second extended phase, the married sons may have returned from bride service with their wives and offspring. In this phase, the married daughters with their husbands and offspring may stay or they may go to live with their husbands' people.

• The headship of a family is strongly associated with males. A widowed mother is regarded as a dependent, not as a family head. When the old father of an extended family dies, that particular family ceases to be an extended family. Families of siblings may live together in the same band, but no one of them has authority over another unless one of the siblings happens to be headman of the band. If they are no longer involved in bride service themselves, and their offspring are not yet married, these families become independent nuclear families again, to become new, extended families when the offspring marry.

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Both the father and mother expect and receive respect and obedience from their children. Although the mother's influence is always felt, I believe that the father's authority is greater. It is not formalized or expressed in a harsh or domineering way. As long as the father lives, he is the head of the family, symbolically. Even when too old to hunt, if he is still a forceful person, he remains the one in authority, the leader of the sons-in-law and his daughters, of his sons and their wives. Gradually, however, when he becomes very old, the younger men make their own plans without necessarily consulting him.

!Kung families are responsible for dependents. Thus, old, dependent parents are unfailingly supported by their offspring and may choose with which one of their offspring they will live. Orphaned children are taken by their grandparents or by a sibling of their parents. It happens occasionally that a person has no living parent, offspring, or sibling. In that case, other relatives assume the responsibility.

THE NAME RELATIONSHIP • Although !Kung society has developed no formal political structure under which the bands are united, and there are no organizations outside the bands, these people have a means of extending the concept of kinship beyond close consanguineous relatives and affines and of recognizing, in what we call the name relationship, the web of remote interrelationship that long intermarriage within the region has established.

Invariably the first son and the first daughter are named by their father for their paternal grandparents. Other children are usually named for their mother's parents, the siblings of their parents, and the spouses of those siblings, and may occasionally be named for other relatives. Thus, a few names are used over and over through the generations. We recorded only forty-six men's names and forty-one women's names in the region. The !Kung assume that persons who have the same name are related, though the exact nature of the relationship is forgotten. They believe, also, that people with the same name somehow have a common entity. They bestow upon each other kin terms that are appropriate to the name, according to a system. The !Kung have intermarried within the Nyae Nyae region to such an extent that everyone has a kin term he associates with each one of the names. This means that the people of the whole region are what we call name relatives, all applying kin terms to each other.

From the !Kung point of view the custom has two values. It regulates the incest taboo in its furthermost extension, especially the joking relationship that symbolizes the taboo. (For example, a man should not marry or make sexual jokes with a woman who has the same name as his mother.) The !Kung feel secure in righteousness when they know they are behaving

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properly in these matters, and the kin term they apply guides their behavior with everyone they meet.

The other value is obvious. The !Kung of the whole Nyae Nyae region, in their thirty-six separate bands or groups, are drawn together by a feeling of belonging to an in-group. The familiar names and the use of the kin terms make them expect from each other behavior suitable to kinsmen—sharing food, gift giving, restraint from expressing jealousy or other hostilities, conforming to group opinion, all the things they do that are conducive to peaceful living together. This sense of belonging gives security and comfort to these people in whose language the word *dole*, which means "strange," means also "harmful" and "bad." They call themselves *ju /õassi*. *Ju* means "people"; */õassi* connotes something like "true" or "pure" and can be paraphrased as "just ourselves."[7]

INHERITANCE PATTERN • The !Kung have no named, structured patrilineages, but they have a patrilineal emphasis. Inheritance passes from father to eldest son, as does the succession in headmanship.

There is not much property to inherit. Land and the resources of food and water are owned by the band, not privately by individuals. A considerable amount of an individual's personal property is destroyed at the time of his death. This is not done to provide implements for the spirits in the after-life. The !Kung believe that the spirits of the dead have their own heavenly objects and need nothing from earth. It is done because no member of the family wants to use the common objects of the dead, which too vividly remind them of their loss. Only the more rare and important possessions are kept, such as assegais and fine ornaments. These are inherited by the eldest son. Failing a son, the spouse or a daughter or sibling or, failing these, some other close relative who was present would take the things. Whoever took them would be expected to give some of them to other relatives.

MARRIAGE • As I mentioned, the Nyae Nyae !Kung rarely marry outside the region, although !Kung women not infrequently marry Tswana or Herero men in the border settlements.

First marriages are arranged by parents while the children are still young. Either the parents of the boy or those of the girl may first ask for the betrothal. Parents of boys have their eyes on every girl baby and may say to parents of an unborn infant, "If it is a girl, let us have her for our son."

No property settlements enter into the marriage choices or marriage arrangements among the !Kung. Rather, they say about the basis of their choice that they seek an upstanding family for their child to marry into, people who are not lazy and not "far-hearted" but who are dependable and generous and behave with propriety, obeying the social rules and the

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various taboos. They wait for the children to grow up, hoping that they will be like their families in these qualities. 581

The marriage takes place when the parents agree, but it must be after the boy has killed a game animal and is scarified. The age at which young people marry varies greatly. We know girls who were married for five or six years before they menstruated; others were somewhat older at marriage. 582

!Kung society rigorously, and without exception, requires that all men, in first and subsequent marriages, go to live with the parents of their brides, and give them bride service. This service is essentially hunting. "Our daughter's husband must give us meat." "We shall soon be old; we need a young man to hunt for us." These are the refrains of the people. 591 583

The duration of bride service is indefinite. The !Kung say it should be long enough for three children to be born. Since the girls are so young, it may mean that eight or ten years elapse before three children have been born. Divorce may terminate bride service. After his obligations are fulfilled, a man has the right to return to his own people with his wife and dependents or he may choose to stay with his wife's people.

The young couple is expected not to have sexual intercourse until the girl is ready. No social rule patterns the time, which is a matter of individual adjustment, but the boy must not force the girl. If she complained to her parents, they might disapprove of the boy, dissolve the marriage, and send him away. His parents would have to try to find another bride for him and he would have to wait for years again for her to grow up. 585 [586]

The !Kung are polygynous. First marriages are ordinarily arranged by their parents between children who have not been previously married. Only occasionally is a young girl betrothed for her first marriage to a man who had been married before, perhaps a young man who had lost his wife by death or divorce, or possibly, but rarely, to her sister's husband or some other man as his second wife. Usually second marriages are contracted later in life when a woman becomes available for remarriage through widowhood or divorce. In such marriages, the man and woman concerned make their own arrangements. The number of wives a man may have is determined not by social rule but by the man's ability to obtain and support them. This limits him usually to one. There is no great excess of women, and prestige and wealth do not concentrate in !Kung society to give certain categories of men, such as headmen or medicine men, more power or right than others to acquire wives. A sampling of eighty-eight marriages showed that only nine of the men had two wives. None had more than two. 595 587 595 [554]

Although the first wife is considered to have a somewhat more esteemed and dominant position, no property or other material advantage is given to her and no important social advantage accrues.

!Kung co-wives live very closely together. They share one scherm and one family fire. They care for and nurse each other's children. Even when

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595 they are jealous of each other, as they so often are, !Kung society demands of them that they preserve a decent semblance of harmony and, by self-control and silence, avoid disturbing other people with jealous wrangling.

582 621 The band itself, as a structured unit, is not a factor in regulating marriage. Persons may marry either within their bands or outside them if relationships and marriage regulations permit. Neither the sororate nor the levirate is obligatory, but marriage with a brother's wife or a sister's husband is considered to be good and suitable, particularly as a second marriage, should death or divorce make it possible for these affines to marry again. 582 These relationships are not especially preferred in first marriages.

Marriages are forbidden in !Kung society only on the basis of the incest taboo, which is very strongly felt. It rigorously prohibits the !Kung from marriage with members of the nuclear family. It also extends to step-parents, stepbrothers and stepsisters, stepchildren, and to three additional categories of persons: certain kin, certain affines, and certain name relatives, whose relationships are considered to resemble those of the nuclear family.[8]

582 183 The !Kung conform strictly to the marriage regulations where they feel the internal sanction strongly, as they do with close kin and affines. But with the more remote relatives, third cousins, and even second cousins, and with name relatives, they deviate without any apparent sense of guilt and without incurring the grave disapproval of society.

587 Widowers may marry again without restriction. A widow is supposed to wait until one rainy season has passed so that "the rain may wash the death away," but often she does not.

586 A couple may divorce without formality. This may be by mutual consent, or one spouse may simply leave the other. No religious or legal dispensation is involved and parental consent is not a requirement. No property entanglements present difficulties for there is no dowry or bride-[587] price to be resolved. Divorce does not change people's status in the community in any way, and they are free to remarry without restrictions. Although the !Kung do not consider divorce reprehensible, they deplore it because it is untoward and can cause trouble. Divorces are not uncommon among young people of about the age at which young people in our society would be getting married, but, once a compatible mate is found, there is a notable stability in the marriages.

837 !Kung society forbids any sexual relations outside marriage, with one exception, called */kamheri*. */Kamheri* means that two men may agree to exchange wives temporarily, provided the wives consent. When deviations from the sexual regulations do occur, the usual form is adultery, since almost all Bushman women are in the married state from early youth. [835] But adultery meets with deterrents in this society. The strongly felt incest taboo prevents extramarital sexual relations as well as marriage with close relatives. Ease of divorce enables persons who really wish to change mates

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to do so. Lack of privacy makes it almost impossible to keep an affair secret, and violent jealousy and anger can be aroused. Fearing any disruptive force, the !Kung disapprove.

LIFE CYCLE

CHILD TRAINING • !Kung parents are gentle, protective, and permissive with all their children and express their affection especially with babies. It is a most common sight to see fathers fondly kissing them with pursed lips and smacks. The mother, wherever she goes, carries her infant tied to her left side, skin to skin, in a little leather sling where it can reach her breast. When she sits, she takes the infant out of its sling, holds it, lets it nurse the other breast.

The !Kung believe that long nursing is essential to the survival and development of their children and encourage them to continue until they are three or four or older. These people practice infanticide and, in explaining it, say that they must space their babies so that each will be able to nurse long enough to ensure his having strong legs. An infant cannot thrive on their harsh foods, they say, even though they chew the food and put it into the infants' mouths, and the mother cannot support two entirely with her milk, excellent though !Kung lactation appears to be. They supplement the milk with adult food as soon as the child can eat it, so that a child is accustomed to it and ready to be weaned at three or four when the next baby comes. But, even so, the mother weans gradually, letting the older child have a drink of milk occasionally through the day. If the mother does not have or keep another baby but still has milk, she will allow or encourage her child to continue nursing. Other children tend to make fun of a child who nurses until he is six or so, and, in response to their teasing, a child may wean himself quite abruptly.

Babies are naked and, since there are no floors but the desert sand, not much is made of their urinating wherever they are. When they defecate, they are wiped with grass and the fecal matter is cleaned up at once by some older child or adult and carried off. As soon as children can walk fairly well they are led by the hand and encouraged to go out of the werf for their toilet needs, at first for the sake of cleanliness and, as they grow older, for the sake of modesty as well. (!Kung adults are exceedingly modest about uncovering their genitalia. Their incest taboo influences this behavior, I think, very strongly.)

Infants sleep in their mothers' arms. Young children sleep wrapped in karosses beside their parents' fire. Boys from the age of about eleven or twelve sleep at a boys' fire, not far from the family of one of them. Girls at that age go to sleep with a grandmother or some widow, or several of them

513 882 together may sleep near the parents of one of them, but not exactly at the parents' fire.

855 857 Within the frame of protectiveness the parents are very permissive and make few, if any, demands on their children. With no houses and few utensils, there are not many household tasks to assign. Children are not sent off alone to do any of the daily work of fetching water or wood or [136] gathering veldkos. Although lions, leopards, and hyenas tend to mind their own business, they are present in the country and share the water holes with the Bushmen. Poisonous snakes are a very real danger. Furthermore, as the hunters say, it takes a lifetime to learn the country well enough not to be easily lost in the featureless grass and brush. The adults do not let their children out of their sight. In their parents' presence the children imitate adult activities in vital, active play, very engaging to watch, and [868] participate in actual work as they are able. The adults pause to show them how to hold a digging stick, or a toy bow or drill, so that play and learning merge.

524 857 [512] The !Kung have a rich variety of lively group games, with pantomime, singing, dancing, and other rhythmic movements, that children and adults together enjoy playing in the werf when the heat of the day is over. In most of their games boys and girls play separately, but they dance and sing together.

861 !Kung children are never harshly punished. One father said that if he had a boy who was quarrelsome or who disobeyed the rules—for instance, the absolute rule of the !Kung against stealing food or possessions—what he would do about it would be to keep the boy right with him until he learned 857 sense. The children on their part do not often do things that call forth 156 punishment. They usually fall in with group life and do what is expected of them without apparent uncertainty, frustration, or fear; and expressions of resistance or hostility toward their parents, the group, or each other are very much the exception.

881 [173] PUBERTY • When the fathers of the present old men were young men, the Nyae Nyae !Kung adopted the ceremony of the *Choma*, which they said was taught to them by a !Kung man who had married into another [171] language group in the south. The *Choma* resembles some Bantu initiation [562] ceremonies at certain points. The men who have had the ceremony and are therefore *Choma* owners take the boys to a place far enough from the werf to be out of hearing of the women, who, the !Kung claim, would die if they [535] heard some of the *Choma* sounds. The men and boys dance all night for several nights to special *Choma* songs with special rhythms that differ from [534] those of the other dances. A secret bull-roarer plays a part in the ceremony. [302] At the end the boys are scarified with a vertical line down the middle of [304] their foreheads and are given a special *Choma* haircut. Circumcision or other genital operations are not practiced by the !Kung.

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other genital operations are not practiced by the !Kung. The *Choma* is not compulsory; most boys take part but a few refuse. *Choma* owners do not form a corporate sodality. !Kung society has no such units except kinship groups.

Another ceremony for boys, which is presumably ancient and traditionally Bushman, must be performed before a boy can marry. This ceremony is performed twice for each boy, individually, on the occasion of his first killing a large game animal, once for the first male, once for the first female. The meat is cooked at a special fire, which women must avoid, and is eaten ceremonially by the men. The boy is scarified, by his father or another male relative, on his right side for the first male animal, on his left side for the first female. Little vertical cuts are made in his skin in lines on his arms, chest, back, and forehead, and a paste of charred meat and fat is rubbed into them. This is to ensure his seeing well, shooting well, and having a heart that will say to him, "Why am I sitting here in the werf? Why am I not out hunting?"

The passage from childhood to adulthood is marked for a !Kung girl by a ceremony at her first menstruation. The girl is isolated in a special scherm for the duration of the flow only. She must be covered by a kaross because the sun must not shine upon her, and her feet must not touch the ground. When she must go out to urinate or defecate, she is carried on the back of the old woman (not her mother) who attends her. It is not the menstrual blood but the girl herself who must be kept from touching the ground. She would get thin if she disregarded this taboo. Men and boys must not look at the girl and she must not look at them lest the men become highly visible to animals and unable to get near enough to them to shoot.

Every day that the girl is in the menstruation scherm, the women who are present and one or two old men dance a special dance called the Eland Dance and sing a special cycle of First Menstruation music. The Eland Dance is full of sex symbolism. The two old men should be free from even the most attenuated, symbolic extension of the incest taboo with respect to the girl, and it follows that they should have what is called the joking relationship with her. The usual strict modesty of the women is set aside. They take off their karosses (leaving their aprons on, however) and hang strings of beads from their waists down over their bare buttocks. The old men, with forked sticks tied to their heads to represent eland horns, imitate the gait and carriage of elands, and dance among the women with subtly erotic gestures. The other men and boys of the werf must stay at a distance.

When the girl stops menstruating she is washed, rubbed with *tsi* and fat, and her face is painted with red lines. She then may go among the people again, but the first time she takes water from the water hole and the first time she cooks and eats veldkos, the water and veldkos must be

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The *Choa* Ceremony The mother takes the girl's hands to scrape the tsĭ out of the ashes.

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choa-ed. The old woman who attends her performs this part of the ceremony (or her mother may do so). She scrapes a root called *sha sha* into the water hole. To *choa* the veldkos, the old woman takes the girl's hands in hers and together they place the veldkos in the fire. When it is cooked, they scrape it out together and the old woman puts *sha sha* in her mouth, chews it, and blows on the girl's hands and on the veldkos. This protects the girl from having an upset stomach. Each veldkos must be *choa*-ed the first time the girl eats it after the First Menstruation ceremony.

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No ceremonials mark subsequent menstruation periods, and the women do not seclude themselves during the flow or avoid gathering veldkos or dipping water from the water hole. They continue only to practice certain avoidances that in general have to do with men's hunting. The menstruating woman must not touch hunting gear; it would be very bad, for the arrows would be useless. She must not have sexual intercourse with her husband; it would make him tired and thin. Men in the years of their hunting prime should not talk or listen to talk about menstruation, for to do so might make them lazy in hunting.

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The girls who are married before their first menstruation have the same menstruation ceremony when the time comes as do the unmarried girls.

There is no genital mutilation practiced among the girls and women of the !Kung. Girls are scarified, but not at the time of the menstruation ceremony. The scarification is begun when the girl is about seven or eight and is continued little by little over several years. Stripes are made on the legs,

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thighs, up the buttocks to the waist, and on the cheeks and forehead. 304
The !Kung say the stripes are made only for beauty" and are in imitation of gemsbok—big, stately gray antelopes with spectacular black markings.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

The only social grouping above the family in 621
!Kung society is the autonomous band. A band is a group of families who live together, linked to one another and to the headman by kinship bonds, in a manner that will be illustrated presently. Nuclear families do not live alone among the !Kung. An extended family might do so, if it were a strong unit with enough young hunters and gatherers to sustain it; it would then be a band. Most of the Nyae Nyae bands were composed of several families [162] and ranged in size from twenty or twenty-five to fifty or sixty members.

Each band belongs to its own territory, or, we can say, owns its territory 621
and the resources within it. Two or more bands may belong to the same 622
territory. The focus of the band's ownership of the territory is the headman, 623
who is called *kxau* (owner). He does not own the resources as private, individual property is owned, to withhold or give as he pleases. Members born to the band have a kind of inalienable right of their own to the resources. The headman personifies those rights and gives them organization and continuity. The continuity is expressed by the attachment of the headmanship to the territory. If a headman leaves the territory to live elsewhere—except temporarily for bride service—he ceases to be headman and the headmanship falls on someone else who remains in the territory.

!Kung society accords to the headman the authority to coordinate the 622
movements of his own people in relation to their consumption of resources, and his chief duty is to plan when and where the band will move. He should protect the resources from encroachment from outsiders.

When the band moves, the headman's position is at the head of the line. He chooses the site for the new werf and has the first choice of a spot for his own fire and scherm. He has no other rewards or prerogatives. He carries his own load and is as thin as the rest.

It is not a headman's duty, as headman, to instigate or organize hunting parties, trading trips, the making of artifacts, or gift giving, nor does he make marriage arrangements. Individuals instigate their own activities. A 622
headman is not in any formalized way a judge of his people, nor must he 627
punish a wrongdoer. He may have great influence, if he is an effective leader, but wrongdoing is judged and controlled by public opinion, usually expressed in talk. Occasionally a person who is wronged seeks to avenge himself by fighting, which is greatly deplored.

If a headman is too young or too old, or lacks personal qualities of 622

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622 leadership, the people may turn quite informally to some other man for leadership in their daily life—ask him for help and advice, fall in with his plans. Such a leader has no authority and receives no honors or rewards.

Headmanship is inherited by the eldest son from the father. If that son dies or leaves the band, the headmanship passes to the next eldest son.

No strictly formulated rules, insofar as we know, provide for further succession. We have no observations of our own of situations in which a headman had no son.[10]

622 621 571 The rule of succession does not provide for a headmanship to pass collaterally to a headman's younger brother. However, a younger brother may set up a band of his own in the same territory if he does not prefer to live under the headmanship of his older brother or if he does not continue to live with his wife's people. The younger brother has his own rights to the veldkos and water that derive from his father and he can share them with his family and band. Nevertheless, as long as a son of the headman in rightful succession is living in the territory, he has higher authority and is responsible for the overall planning. Should the principal headman's band die out or realign itself, the collateral band led by the younger brother would become the principal one.

621 622 602 571 The bonds that bring the !Kung into membership in bands are the same consanguineous and affinal bonds on which a nuclear family is formed: the bonds of parent-offspring, siblings, and spouses. Everyone who lives in a !Kung band is linked by one of these bonds with the headman, sometimes directly or sometimes in a chainlike manner through one or two other persons. A description of a typical band will illustrate this point. Band II of Gautscha has forty-one members. The headman, Gao Beard, has two wives and four young children. With Gao Beard live his younger brother, one of his younger sisters, each with spouse and children, and his elderly, dependent and widowed mother. Gao asked his first wife's father, Old ǂToma, whom he likes very much, to join his band. Old ǂToma brought with him into the band his wife, a married son with wife and child, two younger sons, his wife's sister, and her son by a now divorced husband. He also brought sixteen other persons—Gau and his people. Gau belongs to another band but was at the time living in Band II because he had married, as a second wife, Old ǂToma's wife's sister and, middle-aged though they are, he was in bride service to her people. After a time Gau can choose whether to stay on in Band II or to go back to the band in which he originated. He said that he thought he would decide to stay with Old ǂToma and Gao Beard because he likes Old ǂToma and because Gao Beard has a mangetti grove.

621 423 People retain throughout their lives their membership in the band in which they were born and their rights to its veldkos and water resources.

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If they leave the band they may return. Affines and the families of affines have equal rights to the resources while they are present but do not retain them if they leave.

RELIGION

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS • In the many strange old tales of the !Kung appears a protagonist named ǂ*Gaoǃna*—Old ǂGao. He had supernatural powers, but he looked like a man and lived on earth. Like mankind, he was subject to passion, hunger, wrongdoing, failure, frustration, and humiliation, but men imagine his feelings in larger scale and as more grotesque than their own. Themes of incest, hunger, and cannibalism run through the tales. The !Kung claim that this old protagonist and the great god of their present belief are one and the same: they have the same names, but if the present great god is the old ǂ*Gaoǃna*, he is mightily changed.

The !Kung now believe that there are two gods. The great god lives in the eastern sky where the sun rises; the lesser, in the western sky where the sun sets. The great god is the creator of all things. He created himself and named himself. He then created the lesser god and a wife for each of them. The wives bore them children. The great god gave names to all these beings. Then he created the earth and the water holes, the sky and the rain, the sun and the wind, the things that grow on the earth, and the animals with their stripes and colors, and he gave them names. He created a woman and then a man. He commanded the man and the woman and the animals to breathe, for without breathing they would not live. From the beginning he created men and women to be mortal. When mortals die he takes their spirits to the place where he lives in the eastern sky, where there is a certain tree that has no name. He hangs the spirits in the tree, makes a medicine smoke in a pot beneath them, and transmutes them into the /*gauwasi*, the spirits of the dead, who live in the sky with him and are his servants. He has a medicine with which he renews himself, the /*gauwasi*, and the other heavenly beings and thus keeps them immortal.

The great god gave men bows and arrows and poison and digging sticks and taught them how to shoot animals and dig for food. Everything men know he taught them. Having created all things, the great god is the owner and the master of all things and commands their movements.

To "praise" himself, the !Kung believe, the great god gave himself seven divine names and one human name. The divine names are *Hishe, Huwe, Kxo, !Gara, Gani ga,* ǂ*Gaishi* ǂ*gai* and /*Gauwa*. The human name is ǂ*Gaoǃna*, the one he shares with the old protagonist.

Although there is not an absolute taboo upon saying the names of the

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776 gods, the !Kung fear to do so because it displeases the gods and draws their attention and they say, "Who is calling my name?"

The lesser god who lives in the western sky is the namesake of the great god, who, as the belief goes, gave the lesser god all seven of his own divine names, but not his human name. Although they insist in this belief, the !Kung never used any name but */Gauwa*, one of the seven divine names, when they referred to the lesser god and we never heard them [171] actually use this name for the great god. It would seem, then, that the lesser god is the old evil spirit, */Gauwa*, who appears in the beliefs of the Hottentots and other Bushman language groups as the destroyer and the black chief, the one who sends death, disease, and misfortune. This evil spirit was an entity distinct from the good spirit who was variously named by Bushman groups *Hishe*, *Huwe*, and so on.

In present !Kung belief, however, neither the great god nor the lesser god is all evil or all good. Both are capable of being pleased or displeased with man and of sending favors or misfortunes. The lesser god is subservient to the great god and is supposed to do his bidding. The lesser god, however, has his own entity and does instigate his own actions, sometimes even disobeying the great god. Often they disagree between themselves.

The great god looks like a man, like a Bushman, but he is "the tallest of the Bushmen" and has long black hair that is not twisted and knotted like Bushman hair. He rides a horse across the sky—you can hear him—and he has a gun as well as bows and arrows. Some say he never comes to earth but always sends */Gauwa*, or the spirits of the dead, the */gauwasi*, [258] to bring the good or evil that he sends to men. Only the greatest of medicine men have ever seen him.

/Gauwa, however, is commonly seen by the medicine men. They describe him as small. One said he was about two feet tall; another, that he was as small as a guinea fowl; a third, that he was as small as a mouse. Several agreed that he was covered with yellow hairs. One, however, a humble man, said that while in trance he had seen */Gauwa* and that he was like a gray mist.

782 RELIGIOUS PRACTICES • The !Kung say that they pray spontaneously to the gods. Whenever the thought comes to them they put their prayers into words and say or think them to themselves without any formality. When they speak in prayer to the great god they address him by the respectful term *!Nau*, used for any old man, or use a title *Gaoxa* (chief), or call him [181] "father." Sometimes they use one of his names. The prayers, a mingling of mild imprecation and pleading, reveal the major concerns of the !Kung: hunger, sickness, and death.[11]

776 753 778 755 The great god, responsible for sending sickness and death to men, also created and gives to men a mystical curing power that is called *gaoxa*

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(the same word as the title of respect). The !Kung say it is strong medicine: */num*. The !Kung take for granted his giving to man both sickness and the power to cure it, and account for the power's sometimes failing to cure by saying that the all-powerful god allows it to work, or not, according to his pleasure.

He gives the curing power to medicine men (called *num kxao*, medicine owners), appearing to them (usually in dreams, sometimes in what seem to be waking hallucinations) and putting the power into them. He has also put a curing power in the medicine songs that the people sing at the dances, songs named Rain, Sun, Giraffe, Eland, Honey, Buffalo, Mamba, and Spider —all powerful things. The great god gives the power freely. It is rare to find a man among the !Kung who is not a medicine man. The function of the medicine men is only to cure. They are not sorcerers or witch doctors. (The !Kung are not a witch-ridden people.) !Kung medicine men receive no rewards or special prerogatives. They work together apparently without rivalry. The medicine men may cure at any time but their strongest curing occurs at the dance.

Whether or not anyone is sick, the people dance two or three times a month, sometimes more often. Anyone who wants a dance may start one simply by asking people to come and begin. The !Kung like to dance for many reasons. There is the inherent physical pleasure in moving to rhythm. Music and dancing are their arts, from which their aesthetic pleasure comes. The dances are also social gatherings in which all participate, men, women, children, visitors—everybody. A dance draws them together as nothing else does. Even more important is the fact that the dance is one concerted religious act of the !Kung and brings people into such unison that they become like an organic being.

At the dances not only may the sick be cured, but pending evil and misfortune averted. The !Kung believe that the great god may send */Gauwa* or the */gauwasi* at any time with ill for someone and that these beings may be lurking, awaiting their chance to inflict it. The medicine men in the dances combat them, drive them away, and protect the people.

Usually there are several medicine men performing at the same time. To cure they go into trance, which varies in depth as the ceremony proceeds. The curing cannot be described in words; it must be heard. When a man begins, he leaves the line of dancing men and, still singing, leans over the person he is going to cure, going eventually to every person present, even the infants. He places one hand on the person's chest, one on his or her back, and flutters his hands. The !Kung believe that in this way he draws the sickness, real or potential, out of the person through his own arms into himself. To demonstrate that this is in fact going on and is hard to do, he grunts with shuddering grunts that intensify in tempo and pitch into shrieks and reach a high piercing, quavering yell. Finally, the medicine man throws up his arms

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The Ceremonial Curing Dance A medicine man is going into a trance.

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to cast the sickness out, hurling it into the darkness back to */Gauwa* or the */gauwasi*, who are there beyond the firelight, with a sharp, yelping cry of *"kai kai kai."*

The medicine men are usually only in shallow trance at this point, but, when the curing has been going on for some time, they begin to reach a state of patterned frenzy. They no longer go around to the people, their spasms of grunting and shrieking become more frequent and violent, their stomachs heave, they stagger and sway. They rush to the fire, trample it, pick up the coals, set fire to their hair. They believe that fire activates the medicine in them. People hold them to keep them from falling and beat out the flames. The medicine men rush out into the darkness, where */Gauwa* and the */gauwasi* are lurking. They hurl burning sticks and swear at them. "Filthy face!" they screech. "Take away the sickness you have brought. You are bad. You want to kill us. Go away. . . . *Hishe*, you are a liar. This man will not die." At this point the medicine man may fall down in deep trance and appear to be unconscious or semiconscious, with eyes closed, stiff as a board, unable to walk. This stage of trance may last only a brief time or may continue for hours—even into the next day. Gradually it is resolved and the medicine man takes up his normal activities.

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The !Kung believe that at the time of deep trance the medicine man's spirit leaves his body and goes out to meet */Gauwa* and the */gauwasi*. They call this "half death." It is a dangerous time. The women must continue to sing the medicine music. The man's body must be watched over, rubbed, and kept warm by other medicine men who are in less deep trance.

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The violence and excitement of the ceremony have the effect, as in a

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drama, of releasing the emotions of the people and purging them, in the Aristotelian sense. Fear and hostility find an outlet and the people have acted together to protect themselves. In this there are support and solace and hope.

CHANGE

Today (1962) the pattern of life for the Nyae Nyae !Kung has begun to change radically. Many Bushmen of other language groups have had prolonged contact with the Bantu peoples among whom they live, and some have worked on Europeans' farms. Systematic studies of their social changes are lacking. The Nyae Nyae !Kung, as described here, had contact with Herero and Tswana neighbors in trade, but this contact did not appear to change the social structure of the independent !Kung. They are only now beginning to feel the impact of European contact. They were remote; they are no longer so. When, in 1951, we first worked our way to their area from the outposts of the farm lands, we were eight arduous days en route, in trackless, waterless country of bush and heavy sand, our four trucks heavy with water and petrol, equipment and supplies. Today a well-cleared track gives access in a day. Farmers began to come into the area to get the Bushmen to work for them and have their eyes upon the land.

The government of South West Africa, realizing the problem of the Bushmen, has appointed one of their most competent administrators of native affairs to be Bushman Affairs Commissioner, and is supplying him with funds and equipment. He and his wife are in the Nyae Nyae area and are working with several families of !Kung. He is leading one group of them into agriculture and this year they harvested a crop of corn. Others of the men are employed in road building and are being paid a cash wage, currently a shilling a day. It is too early to say what will happen to their social forms in so radical a change, which ones they will lose entirely, which they will retain and adapt to new conditions. All we know is that the !Kung who are taking part in the experiment have expressed themselves as willing and anxious to try to develop a new way of life.

NOTES

(1) Some of the ethnographic material used here has been previously published in my articles in *Africa* which are cited in the bibliography appended to this chapter. The ethnographic material is used with the permission of the International African Institute and the editor of *Africa*.

(2) Skeletal remains of Bushmen are found associated with late stone age implements in South Africa, but not with early or middle stone age (Schapera

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1951:26). In East Africa are sites indicating that people of common origin with Bushmen inhabited those regions, and this suggests that Bushmen in past ages migrated from the northeast (Schapera 1951:27) into South Africa, where they distributed themselves from the Zambesi River to the Cape of Good Hope. Hottentots also came into southern Africa—from East Africa in all probability—bringing with them herds of cattle. Bantu-speaking Negro tribes migrated into southern Africa, it is believed during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. White settlers began in 1652 to establish themselves at the Cape of Good Hope. Negroes, Hottentots, and whites encroached upon Bushmen, who were expelled from the better-watered lands or assimilated or exterminated. With the exception of a few individuals, the surviving Bushmen are found now only in the Kalahari Desert.

(3) The numbers of Bushmen found in various political divisions in 1955 as listed by Tobias (1956) are as follows:

Bechuanaland Protectorate	31,000
South West Africa	20,311
Angola	4,000
Northern Rhodesia	200
Union of South Africa	20

(4) Hooton classified Bushmen and Hottentots as a composite race, predominantly Negroid (1946:628) "whose racial ambiguity will probably continue to haunt us" (p. 633). [Cf. Schapera (1951:27), who says that it is generally regarded that Pygmies and Bushmen probably both diverged from a small variety of Negro; and Tobias (1961:19) who points out that no fossil remains have yet been found to provide definite evidence of this.] The resemblance of some of the physical characteristics of Bushmen to those of Mongolians is generally thought to be fortuitous (cf. Tobias 1957:4 ff.). Coon (1962:193) places the Bushmen among "tag-ends of ancient humanity, culturally as well as physically archaic," hard for classifiers to "fit into categories, let alone explain." The reader is referred to Schapera (1951) and Howells (1959) for judicious presentations of what is and is not known about these peoples.

(5) Studies on the adaptation of the Bushmen to heat and cold have been published by Wyndham and Morrison (1956).

(6) The nature of the Bushman hunt is graphically and empathetically portrayed in a most effective and widely acclaimed film, "The Hunters," made by Mrs. Marshall's son, John Marshall, while following !Kung hunters. Information about purchase or rental of the 70-minute film may be obtained from The Film Study Center, Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Cambridge 38, Mass.—Ed.

(7) I think that in the name relationship of the !Kung we can see the potential beginnings of a kin group. It would seem that it could be a *deme* if it existed. A deme is a name Murdock proposed for a bilateral endogamous local group, in the absence of unilinear descent, "comparable to the sib both in size and in the traditional rather than demonstrable bonds of kinship which unite

the members" (Murdock 1949:62 ff.). This definition very nearly fits the !Kung name relationship, but we are convinced that the !Kung do not think of the region as having a consciously structured grouping to which authority is attributed, such as, for example, a rule of endogamy.

(8) Among consanguineous kin, ego is forbidden to marry siblings of parents, cousins (first, strictly; second, less strictly; and third, only theoretically), and nephews and nieces. Ego's marriage with great-grandparents, grandparents, grandchildren and great-grandchildren is also forbidden, but is not a concern. Discrepancy in age and the realization of close consanguinity combine to make the idea ridiculous and almost unthinkable. The affines whom ego must not marry are numerous, including spouses of offspring and parents of the spouse, also spouses of uncles and aunts.

Ego must not marry his sister's husband's father or brother's wife's mother, because, as marriages with the sister's husband and brother's wife are preferred, it seems improper to marry parents of one of these affines. Similarly, marriage with the husband's brother and wife's sister are preferred, so it seems logical to the !Kung to forbid marriage with the husband's brother's son or the wife's sister's daughter. Marriage with the parent of a son's wife or a daughter's husband is forbidden, for if ego married these affines that would make the son and son's wife or the daughter and daughter's husband step-brother and stepsister, which would be most awkward. Marriage with the wife's brother's wife or the husband's sister's husband is also forbidden; the reason for this lies in a complexity of the joking relationship.

Lastly, marriage is prohibited with certain name relatives whose names associate them with kinsmen to whom the incest taboo is extended. Ego is supposed not to marry anyone with the same name as his parent or offspring or anyone with the same name as his spouse's parent or offspring's spouse. He should not marry the parent or offspring or sibling of anyone with the same name as himself.

(9) When the people go to the mangetti forests after the rains have begun, the young girls draw on the soft, smooth, gray bark of female mangetti trees. They make diagrammatic representations of their genital aprons, of the bead ornaments that they wear in their hair and that are male and female symbols (the long rectangular ones are male, the triangular ones are female), and of the stripes of their leg scarifications. This suggests that the scarifications were associated directly with fertility, although now the women claim they are made only for beauty.

Incidentally, the Nyae Nyae !Kung know nothing of the cave paintings or rock engravings that abound in other parts of southern Africa. We found none in the country around them. There were drawings, however, on baobab trees, abstract-looking forms different from the girls' drawings on the mangetti trees.

(10) We believe that one of several possible adjustments might be made. Strictly speaking, a daughter does not become headman (though we heard people

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562 refer to one woman as a "headman"), nor does her husband. A headman's daughter, as it were, holds the place until her son is born to fill it. Primogeniture would be in force: the eldest daughter's son would take precedence over a younger daughter's son. If a daughter's husband is an effective person by nature, he could lead the band and perform the functions of headman indefinitely. The band, on the other hand, might find it more advantageous not to wait for a son to be born to the headman's daughter but to realign itself under another headman. Within the proper frame of kinship this is a voluntary matter.

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539 (11) I paraphrase some of the prayers as follows:

"You have created me and given me power to walk about and hunt. Why do you lead me in the wrong way so that I find no animals?"

"Give rain, *!Nau*, wet the earth. Let there be veldkos. We are starving because we have to stay by the water hole where there is no more veldkos. You have favored some people with rain. Will you not favor us?"

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